6/5/70

Dear Gary,

Only the very high regard in which I know you hold your professor prompts this letter. I had intended taking a nap withi this time, for I am that weary. Yesterday I almost fainted shortly after getting up and dressing. I am still dragging. And I will nap when I ginish this.

I had to go into town today. Having heard a fragment about a development in the Ray case during the night, I picked up a NYTimes to see if they carry anything. And lo and behold, there on the first page, is your peofessor in a very public bid to totally alienate his daughted!

Like so many busy men with specialties, he has to be underinformed. This is one of the great and painful costs of modern life, especially among professionals. He cannot possibly know anything about Agnew or he'd never have said anything like what is quoted.

This is not to say that what Agnew is quoted as saying them is false. It isn't. It is true. He is not opposed to all dissent. He fosters that of the fascists- and I do not use a figure of speech. But he has an undeviating record of opposing all democratic dissent. He has fouled the length and the bredth of the country sponsoring fascist dissent, to the point that thousands of letters poured in praising speeches he had to cancel and didn't make.

His record is unrelieved. He is a devout, sincere, practising racist.

His record as governor is that of oppression against black students whose complaint was constructive and too-long sublimated. His action was so violent, so fascist, so racist in the Southern tradition it made him vice president, Thurmond's personal choice, a man whose record of race was acceptable to the South.

I feel also that aside from the destruction of his relationship with his daughter and her further separation from the realities of modern life, he will soon enough find liging with this record uncomfortable if not intolerable. There certainly must be enough of you students there to tell it to him like it is. He'll suddenly be considering himself a Judenrat and may wonder if the chambers are not to be chosen instead. Especially after his recent personal experiences.

Here again you see one of the tragedies of the unpublishability of my recent work, for he could not read the government part of COUP II, the last chapter added, and the papers of and result of the suit and remain believing there is any truth that can be produced by any high person in this administration. Continuation in it is incompatible with knowing truth and holding it dear, as it is with any belief in the most fundamental decencies...You know, as I hear Nixon the other night, all I could think of is that, aside from stridency and noise, I'd heard this all before, in the 1930s. The piety, the pretense of high principles, the sickening dishonesty of the pretense any negotiation was intended (when, in fact, the minimum terms are the free delivery at the conference table of what cannot be extorted by force of arms), the bland presentation of the irrational and incredible as a completely reasonable solution - even when it is is open violation of our pledged word (like the alleged purposes of our war being to make South Vietnam free whereas we are pledged to its non-existence save as part of a unified country following elections that we prevented, knowing our finks couldn't win them, even crookedly), and most frightening of all, the solemn assurance that we had achieved great successes by this Hitlerian invasion of a country who government we had just overthrown, the real purpose of the invasion being to succor the unpopular

fascists we imposed, those who had been our menidcants for years. Success? Wahix Wherein lies success? In having the words memorialized with the lost of a town ten miles from the capital while they were being softly spewed, like a gurgling rather than an erupting vomit? In the loss of 20 correspondents? In the pretended capture of a quantity of rice that would require about 100,000 large trukkloads to be transported by those having so few trucks? In the presentation of pictures as evidence when these pictures could be from any stockpile of the past? When that very night the impoverished "enemy" set a record for the bombardment of some 70 places simultaneously?

Though appriopriate, it is not enough to say, "Lord, forgive them; they know not what they do". These principled men, like babes lost in an evil woods, have just done an enormous international disservice, with the best of intentions, But how many more roads to hell need paving? And need those who would be angles do Lucifer's work for him?

This kind of thing I am, as you known used to. They hurt but get forgotten, for they are too numerous to hold.

What I cannot here ignore is what your friend has done to himself. He will, in time, come to see the horror from his naivete.

If I understand the term hippie and can properly assess the emotion lying under his quoted words, his daughter is already sufficiently detached. He also, perhaps despite it, still loves her, regards their relationship as something more than the conflict in cultures (both, to me, futilities). I take the liberty of making what I think may be a constrictive suggestion, something that may bridge the gap that, with jis daughter's understanding, may widen. He will not himself take the time to research Agnew. Perhaps if he asks her to do it they may both learn from it. He may get a faint concept of what he has just done and be able to atone and she may come to learn that there is naught but futility and frustration in detachment or political non-involvement. Some of this is not in my files. But there are these key points. Agnew became a Republican government in a Democratic state because the man who captured the Democratic nomination, with reactionary, racists and ultra Democratic help, is the worst in our political life in years. My wife and I, for example, though Democrats of long standing voted for Agnew knowing nothing about him simply because of the alternative. The key points are his actions and statement at the time of black protest over the gross inadequacies of the black (Morgan State) college when the state had a budgetary surplus. His racist remarks during the campaig I believe in Hawaii, of all places, and the meaningless, self-serving non-sequetur of his "explanation"; the contemporaneous scandal when the Nixon-Thurmong conference, having been taped in Miami, was made public. His recall may not be enough to encompass Agnew's career since, but beginning with Des Moines and Birmingham (lily-white, racist audience), his speeches make impossible any interpretation other than mine of his pretense Agnew was not opposed to demmcratic as opposed to rightist extremist dissent. He has, in fact, foster the dissent of the ultras and calls it good. The inherent anti-Semitism in his attacks on the Washington Post and New York Times, both basically yellow, is transparent. the formulation of his philosophical predecessors was "uptown editions of the Daily Worker".

I think you knw that if I did not regard this as important to your friend, I'd not take the time for it. It makes me wonder whether those of us who fight fascism, long handicapped by the absence of those who retreated to the ivory tower, can survive their emergence. Those who are decent, I am convinced, themselves will not. And this is the histroy of the 30s again, for most of the intellectuals either abdicated or became, literally or through ignorance, one kind or another of Judenrat...How they could ne so ignorant, without knowing Agnew but knowing what had just befallen them, stuns me. Sincerely,

6/5/70-2

Dear Gary,

Having had a refreshing nap, lunch and my mind taken from other things by a half-hour of a soap opera done with a professionalism so great I find the acting a reward when the conent is slop, and having during the commercials read and annotated the Washington Post clipping enclosed, I've decided to take a bit more time from work-and I have a story sold to get edited and retyped- because of your liking for your prof and my worry for him, impersonal as it is to me, knowing it is not to you.

He probably has no recollection of the Hitler era, just that it was rough and anti-human. But the fact is this story, this incident, is the most remarkable parallel, as is so much today. There is but an Americanization of the identical thing. Muted voices rather than shouts, suhillants for gutterals. This holy horseshit, this fabricated dedication to the good and principled, all the sanctimony and the slight suggestion of the possibility of excess -t it is, really, remarkably like the German original its duplicates. These are the most evil men, whose records are never recalled byt the sycophant press. Nixon began his political life as a frame-up artist and he never abandoned that. It remained his stock in trade. He began his Senate career as a crook, caught taking some $17,000 in clear illegality, and with the most depraved speech any one in public lifein this country even made, that business of hiding behind Checkers' long hair, parlayed it into the vice-presidency. No decent man would have so degraded himself. He also told these kids he listens to protest. By looking at the football game.

The thing that most disturbs me is that M will some day realize that he has been a consummate fool and a hick sucker for a verbal shell game-and gave it all the stamp of his own integrity-and above all, to his own beloved child. He will not escape that, not ever, and remain a man with any integrity. He has, by this one intellectual stupidity (you known I am not a diplomat), by this one abandonment of what his mind should have told him is the reality, been more than a traitor to his and any decent society. He has betrayed any right he was for his daughter to trust him and any right to expect it.

I fear also he has limited the paths he can take in the future, the near future. He can follow Agnewss, which is fascism, however camoflaged, he can do like the kids of honor, and get radicalized, or he can cop out and try to face himself, failing, sickening or what is worst of all, kidding himself and pretending he can.

Can you explain to me, in any rational terms, how these guys could have read their papers, no matter how distorted those papers present the news, or looked at the TV news, no matter how slanted, and not known the reality of Agnew, the contempt he has for honesty, his total unconcern for truth and fact? Waht in the world were they up to, what did they expect? Did they expect him to reform overnight, to lead a charge into the White House, to kill himself and his future and his crack at the Presidency is the reactionary trend continues? What conceivable thing could they have expected save their own self-defamation, the degrading of their intellects and that of all intellectuals? Or did they a have a subconscious hope they could arrange such a cop-out, a yearning for something like this so they could holds onto theipositions they love while seeming to take the path of honor? Well, I don't know if what I've said is comprehensible, but unless you men faces the reality, he'll wind up taking his own test. If you feel you can't discuss this with him and that what I have said is comprehensible to him, if you'd like, give him these letters. And my deepest sympathy. I know politics, politicians and the smile fascism shows until it needn't or can't. H